SECTION I. PERSONAL STATUS

CHAPTER I. THE FAMILY AND THE CLAN

1. Generalities

596 The family sensu stricto (rugo) (1) is more inclusive than in

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1. The rugo is the enclosure in which are the hut, the granaries, and the stables. By extension, this word designates the family in the strict sense of the word. In the plural: ingo.

our countries. It includes the father; his wives and their children, whether married or not; the father's brothers; and their wives and children. Formerly, the slaves taken in war (abanyagano) (2) were

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2. Cf. also Marriage, p. 15; Birth and Filiation, p. 29; Government and Administration, Nationality, p. 70; Social Classes, p. 91; Right of War, p. 92.

also part of it.

[566] The Bahutu, serfs of the Batutsi, have their own rugo. The Ruanda family is of the patriarchal type. Filiation counts in the

●[611] paternal line (3); the child does not necessarily take the name of his

3. The children are nevertheless considered, in a way, as belonging to both father's family and the mother's. The Banyarwanda say: Umuntu akomoka iwabo wase nanyina, that is to say, "the man proceeds from both (families), his father's and his mother's."

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591 father (4); paternal authority is exercised by the father, and the wife

4. This was even rare before European penetration.

553 neighborhood children are then invited to eat a dish consisting of a gruel of sorghum and beans. But before eating they wait for the child to relieve himself, hence the name of this meal, ubunyano (from kunya, to defecate). Then the father recites a few names he would like to give the child, and those present choose one of them. If the parents have already lost a child, in order to turn away the evil spirits, the newborn child is baptized with an objectionable name such as Kangurube (little pig child). The same day the husband is obliged to have intercourse with his wife lest a misfortune happen to the child.

[845] Twins (impanga) are given names that resemble each other, Karengera and Karinganire for example. [36]

851 The rule pater is est quem nuptiae demonstrant is universally
848 applied. Normally, therefore, the husband is the child's father and
[611] filiation is established in the paternal line. Children born after the father's death are considered legitimate if the wife was pregnant at the time of his death.

There is no special word to designate the legitimate child.

However, the rule mentioned above has certain exceptions. If a man marries an ikinyandaro, the child to be born, who is only an umusambanano for the husband, will belong to his natural father. But the husband may claim that the child is his if at the time of the marriage the girl is only a few months pregnant.

It may happen that a girl does not know the name of the man who has taken her (1). The natural child then belongs to the inzu of

1. This is especially the case with abajakazi (mistress-servants), who live at the Mwami's Court or with the great chiefs and who are put at the disposal of their master's guests.

the girl's father. Today there are many ibyomanzi who, eager for their independence, have left their parents and wander throughout the country. Their children are called abana b'umugore, but they do not belong to the maternal inzu, for the ibyomanzi no longer have any family.

The adulterine child belongs to the husband because of the dowry that has been paid. If the dowry has not been paid, the child is supposed to belong to the family of his mother's father. The incestuous child belongs to the husband. When a child is born to an unmarried

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

CHAPTER II

THE SYSTEM OF KINSHIP AND AFFINITY[1]

I. DESCENT GROUPS

AMONG the Ruanda people, Tutsi as well as Hutu, the social principle of descent was agnatic. When any informant is asked who are his ascendants, he always answers by giving the names of his father, his paternal grandfather, his paternal great grandfather up to some male ancestor beyond whom he is unable to go. He does not mention his mother nor any of her ascendants.

Questions on the actual groupings founded on this principle and their functions elicit less unanimous and clear answers. The reason is that kinship groups have undoubtedly undergone a slow process of change in several respects during the Tutsi occupation of the country. What we know of its history[2] is quite sufficient to convince us that there has been a progressive territorial expansion under one dynasty of rulers together with an intensification of the

[1] In order to make clear the connotations of the main concepts used in this chapter, here are a few definitions:

Ego's *kin* are his socially recognized relatives to whom he is connected through parent-child and-or sibling links. *Consanguineal* and *cognatic* relatives are used as synonyms for kin.

Ego's *affines* are his socially recognized relatives to whom he is connected through a marriage link. This link may be the first traced from Ego (the affines are then Ego's spouse's kin) or the kinship link may be the first one traced (the affines are then Ego's kin's spouse).

Ego's *patrilineal* or *agnatic* relatives are those of his kin who descend by male links from the same male ancestor as Ego.

Ego's *matrilineal* or *uterine* relatives are those of his kin who descend by female links from the same ancestress as Ego.

Ego's *cross-line* relatives are those of his kin who are neither patrilineally nor matrilineally related to him.

Ego's *paternal* or *patrilateral* relatives are those of his kin to whom he is connected through his father.

Ego's *maternal* or *matrilateral* relatives are those of his kin to whom he is connected through his mother.

To sum up:

- Relatives
  - are *kin* (or consanguineal relatives or cognates) who can be distinguished as
    - 1. patrilineal (or agnatic)
    - 2. matrilineal (or uterine)
    - 3. cross-line
  - or as
    - 1. paternal (or patrilateral)
    - 2. maternal (or matrilateral)
  - and *affines* who can be distinguished as
    - 1. kin of Ego's spouse
    - 2. spouses of Ego's kin.

[2] See for instances, Pagès, 1933.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

The last column of the table indicates the range of application of the term: is it classificatory or denotative? Although the nine preceding characteristics are criteria of the range of application, I have considered as denotative not only the terms which have these nine characteristics, but those which show only characteristics 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, i.e. generation, sex, distinction between affinity and consanguinity, lineality and collaterality, bifurcation by sex of connecting relative.

If we sum up the different symbols in the vertical lines, we obtain for the sixty-one terms of the table (fifty-five terms of reference and six of address) the following results:

1. Linguistic structure: 6 elementary terms, 48 derivative, 7 descriptive.
2. 54 denote generation, 7 do not.
3. 43 denote sex of the relative, 18 do not.
4. 54 do not cover both affinal and consanguineal relative together and 7 do.
5. 45 do not denote a class of people including lineal and collateral relatives, 16 do.
6. 34 indicate the sex of the person through whom kinship is traced, 19 do not and in 8 cases the question does not arise as there is no link.
7. 50 terms indicate polarity, 11 do not.
8. 59 do not denote age within generation, 2 do, and in 7 cases they ignore age differences by definition.
9. The speaker's sex is indicated in 16 cases, it is not in 45.
10. There is no case in which it is indicated whether the link is living or dead. Thus, except for the 8 cases in which there is no connecting relative, 53 terms ignore that characteristic.
11. 41 terms are classificatory and 20 are denotative.

(*b*) *Concluding remarks*

Let me conclude this chapter with a few remarks on the Ruanda system of kinship and affinity. They are suggested by the previous description of kinship roles or by the table.

Descent is reckoned patrilineally and a lineage is a corporate group of agnates. But Ego does not feel that all others are strangers. He lives, as it were, in a cognatic as well as an agnatic world. For help in important questions, when it is necessary for him to assert his rights to be assisted, he turns to his patrilineal kinsmen, but in

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

ever she does, she does within the limits of her various feminine roles. However, the obligations of motherhood, of the household and of wifehood hardly prevent a woman from participating in other activities. Indeed, in Burundi, everyone is busy with politics —the large scale politics of the kingdom for the *abakuru*, the great ones, and the petty politics of daily life for the *abatoyi*, the humble folk. Women are not less interested in it than men, nor peasants less than princes. A peasant widow plays politics to obtain a length of cotton cloth or to protect against her enemies her rights to her little plot of cultivable land. A princess plays politics to obtain jewellery and cows and to decide a princely succession. A woman is sometimes driven by ambition for the sake of her son; sometimes it is to her advantage to help her husband; sometimes she enters the game entirely in her own interest. Peasant or princess, if a Rundikazi understands and desires happiness, if she knows how to dominate men in all subtlety, if she is clever and courageous, she may even defeat her own father or husband in the political game. The ambition of a Rundi or Rundikazi of inferior birth is seriously limited by the restrictive rules of the caste system. However, the ambition of a woman as such encounters only the sometimes purely apparent obstacle of a patriarchal, patrilineal system in which all the legitimate titles to wealth and power are for men.[4] Women who are ambitious and intelligent do not seem to be at a disadvantage in having to function in politics by indirect means and in secret. These are, in any case, the preferred methods of men in the delicate business of increasing power and wealth.

Thus, in Burundi as elsewhere, one finds charming but formidable matriarchs who have considerable authority and who are perhaps more intimidating than the harshest of patriarchs. On the other hand, most of the women of Burundi never even approach realization of the central values of the society. They must work to the limit of their strength so that they will not die of hunger. This is because most Rundi are of the inferior castes, where men and women share the wretchedness of the poor. It would be vain to try to calculate the difference between the misery of a man and that of a woman, if both of them are of inferior birth, without relatives or a feudal protector, old, weak and not very bright.

Neither a Rundikazi who wields great political influence nor a man of low caste who has more political power and wealth than his social superior is regarded as an outlaw. On the contrary, they are looked upon as clever and lucky. The social structure of Burundi, like that of other societies, does not describe behaviour. It only serves as a guide. A society would be crushed by the weight of